THE NEW REPUBLIC

On War in Gestation

Louis J. Halle

The Last Hundred Days

Irving Kristol

A Muffled Mediator

Alastair Burnet

Sinclair Lewis

Winfield Townley Scott

November 20, 1961, 25

12-64 K26744 APR 1-13-1
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Strangely Familiar

★ Sitting down to write this we heard the drum of a helicopter outside, looked out the window at the drab November foliage on Pennsylvania Avenue, saw two Army machines beating up into the leaden Sunday sky over the goal-posts on the Ellipse behind the White House, making a big circle between the Monument and the Memorial, and then slicing off up the Potomac. President Kennedy aboard, and all the world's problems. Curious place – Washington!, we meditated – the mixture of humdrum and significant, the startling confrontation with world figures; like Nehru walking beside Ambassador Galbraith last week, Nehru coming about up to Galbraith's vaccination mark. . . . The faint hum of the helicopters continued some seconds after passing out of sight.

Kennedy looks composed enough. His Gallup poll popularity rating remains phenomenal though what it is with the intellectuals who supported him in 1960 is anybody's guess. A great many people like him composed, a man whose blood-pressure, it is said, in the face of any great emergency soars to normal. Yet up in Boston last week economist Leon Keyserling talked about unemployment and unused capacity and the lag of $50 billions between what the US is doing and what it is capable of doing and the need of Presidential leadership. His remarks sounded strangely familiar; why, to be sure – like those of candidate Kennedy in the Presidential campaign.

Last week's election revealed no major trend to this column but did seem important in a negative sense. The GOP has been boasting a conservative revival, but results in New York City, New Jersey and Texas took all the momentum out of it, like ice when you are trying to get a skidding car started. Another dream evaporated, too; Eisenhower, besides trying to get his former Labor Secretary Jim Mitchell elected Governor of New Jersey, has been urging Neil McElroy (former Defense Secretary) to run in Ohio; Thomas Gates (Navy) to run in Pennsylvania; Fred Seaton (Interior) in Nebraska. They will have second thoughts now.

The election results? Well, New Jersey's Senate remains Republican. New Jersey's Senate has been Republican since 1914 – 47 years. Democrats may sweep the state but the Senate with its veto power remains Republican – this time by one vote. It is characteristic of the nation, the entrenched conservative Republican rural areas. Urban Essex county (905,000) and rural Sussex county (35,000) each send one Senator to the NJ state legislature. In Essex they vote the people; in Sussex the cows. You get the same rotten borough system in Michigan where it defeated Governor Mennen Williams' efforts at reform: Democratic waves carried Michigan year after year but the Senate remained Republican. It is true in a dozen other states.

Almost certainly America is a lot more liberal than its institutional systems allow it to be – calculated disenfranchisement of the poor, built-in vetoes in Washington, malapportionment in the states tend to keep liberal reform down.

Maneuver in New York

★ Governor Rockefeller and the GOP legislature in New York have just put through a slick maneuver to reapportion the state Republican for 10 years in Congressional representation. They knew what they were doing and were ashamed of it, as shown by the hasty two-day special session last week which consummated the affair. New York's Congressional delegation will be 42 and the GOP has just redrawn most of New York City's districts in a wholesale gerrymandering. Just for the record let's put down the statistics: New York State cast 7 million votes in 1960, Democrats getting 3,800,000, Republicans 3,200,000. Democratic candidates with 53.5 percent of the votes got 51.2 percent of the seats, which was about fair. Now the seats have been redrawn so that with a similar distribution of the popular vote Republicans would get 61 percent of the seats.

It isn't enough to say that Democrats would do the same if they were in power (they have in California, reversing a still worse GOP bias). By and large over the country rural areas are entrenched. In New York State the present Congressional delegation, 22 Democrats to 21 Republicans, will presumably change to 16 Democrats and 25 Republicans in 1962, even if the distribution of popular vote is unchanged. Here in Washington the House of Representatives has 20 to 30 more rural seats than is justified by the population.

Tariff Battle

★ In a series of swift, coordinated moves the Administration is deploying forces for what looks like a terrific tariff battle in Congress. Success of the European Common Market is knocking over chessmen all round the world and from being an observer – urging on Britain to join the Continental Six – the United States suddenly discovers it is a participant. For self-preservation the US must lower tariffs, and the lapse next year of the 1934 Reciprocal Trade Act, 11 times renewed, gives the opportunity. But protectionist groups are mobilizing, too. Rep. Noah Mason (R, Ill.), ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, wants higher tariffs. "There will be a devil of a fight," he says. He is probably right. It looks like the old struggle against American isolationism in a new form.

On or about November 27 eight Senators under Stennis (D, Miss.) will start hearings on right-wing political activities in the armed forces, of which Birchite-Gen. Edwin A. Walker (resigned) is the symbol. Indications are that the crackpot Radical Right in America is ready to try for another McCarthyite binge of equating negotiation with "softness to Communism." The sad thing is that Kennedy has not committed the prestige of the Presidency so unequivocally and belligerently to rationalism that the public can see the issue. By cautiously refraining from moulding public opinion the Administration might find itself caught by public opinion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 145 Number 21 Issue 2455 November 20, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

The Walker Affair

THE WEEK

3. The Walker Affair; Kennedy and Adenauer; Upheaval in Ecuador; Meaning of the Law; Case of the Missing Clues

ARTICLES

7. A Muffled Mediator
by Alastair Burnet

9. The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson

10. On War in Gestation
by Louis J. Halle

13. Liggett & Myers at the Bar
by Arthur Edward Rowse

14. The Last Hundred Days
by Irving Kristol

DEPARTMENTS

16. Books *20. Records*
21. Feiffer *22. Movies*

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Selig S. Harrison, Managing Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
Christopher Jencks, Associate Editor
Mary Newcomb Allen, Research
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:

Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Sidney Hyman, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

Writing in this issue, Louis Halle speaks of "what can only be characterized as the open rebellion of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker against the constituted authority of the United States" – a rebellion that has its points of resemblance with that of the French generals and one that "represents the publicly unexpressed but privately outspoken views of an important part of our American officer corps in all three services."

Is Mr. Halle alarmist? Superficially, the Walker case does not seem too sinister. The General himself appears to have none of the histrionic talents of a MacArthur; and his views are so extreme, and his record so erratic, that it is difficult to imagine him as a rallying-point for more than the far fringes of the radical right. Nevertheless, the record raises some portentous and disturbing issues.

Walker's troubles with the Army began in August, 1959, when he submitted his resignation to Secretary of the Army Wilbur Brucker, explaining that "the fifth column conspiracy and influence in the United States minimize or nullify the effectiveness of my ideas and principles." Brucker felt that despite Walker's political naïveté, his talent as a combat leader should not be wasted in civilian life. He refused the resignation, and Walker went to Germany as Commander of the 24th Infantry Division. But Walker was no longer wholly loyal to the established government or military hierarchy. Rather, his loyalty was to abstractions (like "Americanism") which he could interpret as he saw fit. He was recruited to the John Birch Society, and as the official Army inquiry also showed, he was impressed in particular by books such as *The Pentagon Case*, which alleged that parts of the military hierarchy were engaged in undermining the country. So when Army regulations conflicted with his efforts to organize a militant sixth column to offset the threat of the imagined fifth, Walker wrote the inconvenient rules off as the work of subversives.

Perhaps Walker should have been court-martialed for some of the liberties he took with the military regulations. AR 355-5, for example, prohibits officers from publicly attacking past or present government officials. But this did not deter Walker from telling his troops that Harry Truman and Dean Acheson were traitors. Articles 92 and 134 of the Uniform Code prohibit officers from attempting to influence the way their troops vote, but Walker went ahead and told his men to choose their Congressmen according to the ratings provided by the right-wing Americans for Constitutional Action. He even arranged to provide men filling out their ballots with telephone evaluations from the ACA handbook. He was called to task for his activities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by his commander, Lt. Gen. Guy S. Meloy, in August and October, 1960. He was again warned by Lt. Gen. Garrison H. Davidson in March, 1961. But it was after protests in the press (initiated by the scandal sheet *Overseas Weekly*) and a to-do in the Pentagon, that the US Army Commander in Europe, Gen. Bruce Clarke, ordered Lt. Gen. Frederic Brown to make an official investigation.

The report of General Brown concluded that by slandering Truman and Acheson, and by attempting to sway his troops' balloting, Walker had violated not only Army regulations but the Hatch Act and another federal statute (18 USC 595) which makes it a criminal offense for a government employee to engage in partisan politics. He pointed out, however, that prosecution would be extremely difficult, that a conviction was by no means certain since many of the principals claimed failing memories, and that even if a conviction were obtained a man with Walker's brilliant combat record would probably get no more than a reprimand. Walker therefore got off with an official admonition from General Clarke.

By resigning rather than retiring, Walker has sought to make himself a martyr, and perhaps with the help of Senator Thurmond and others he may yet succeed. Thurmond will undoubtedly do his best to make followers of the Senate hearings tentatively scheduled for later this month think that Walker was fired for exercising his simple right of free speech – against Communists in particular. As military analyst Jack Raymond has pointed out in *The New York Times*, the record of blue-penciling of references to Moscow and Peking in officers' speeches could easily be represented by Senatorial critics to suggest that what Pentagon civilians *really* want is generals who are soft on Communism.

Whether Walker's martyrdom will be sufficient to launch him on a successful political career remains doubtful. He has undertaken a national speaking tour and there is speculation that he might run for Congress in Texas next year. The important question is not, however, what happens to Walker now that he has left the Army but whether other officers will leave or should leave for similar reasons.

There are certainly plenty of officers who agree with Generals Walker, Van Fleet, Wedemeyer, *et al*, that America is being sold out by the State Department. But an equally large proportion of Foreign Service officers are heard to say that the US is being led to disaster by the Pentagon. Men who come to positions of global responsibility by way of West Point, Pearl Harbor and Heartbreak Ridge can hardly be expected to view the world in the same manner as men who come by way of Harvard, the New Deal and Geneva. And so long as the latter are in charge, the former will be critical.

The issue is not whether large numbers of officers are critical of the government. Large numbers of scholars are critical of the government, and this fact is a sign of political health, not malaise. It is rather whether the dissidents will emulate General Walker by violating government regulations which they dislike, or will merely try to change them. Certainly most officers have been reluctant to rebel as Walker did. Admiral Burke, for example, has often been a bitter critic of government policy. But in his speech to the National Press Club immediately after retiring, he made it quite clear that he did not question the authority of the government, or even its right to censor his speeches. His only protest was against the manner in which the right of censorship was exercised. From what has been made public his complaints on this score do not seem entirely out of order. But as Burke emphasizes, the solution is better censors, rather than no censors at all.

Walker does not see things this way. By deliberately violating Army regulations, and by resigning when his superiors attempted to enforce these regulations, he has called the whole stability of the military establishment into question. He has said, in effect, that his loyalty is not to his superior officers but to God, or history, or some other ultimate vindicator. His commitment is not to serve the elected representatives of the people, but his own conception of the best interests of the people. The reasoning is indeed painfully similar to that of the French generals to whom "La Gloïre" is a different thing, demanding different choices, from the National Assembly or President de Gaulle. In his statement to the Senate Subcommittee Walker pooh-poohed the danger of a military coup, on the ground that the US has a largely civilian army. Considering how little faith Walker has in the ability of his men to resist Communist propaganda, it is interesting that he nonetheless expects them to rebel against their own officers if treasonous orders are given.

The crucial and little-publicized fact about the Walker case is that military self-regulation seems to have shown signs of serious inadequacy. Walker's commanders knew that he was violating Army regulations, and while they advised him to go easy, they did not punish him. Although the facts are not entirely clear, most evidence suggests that it was only when pressure was applied by civilians in the press and Pentagon that General Clarke finally acted. He did, of course, act, and this is reassuring; Walker did not have to be investigated by outsiders, and he did not have to be haled before a civil court. Had this been so, there would be genuine cause for alarm. For if a few civilian appointments were all that stood between the public and military irresponsibility, the days of the republic would truly be numbered.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kennedy and Adenauer

It is not the lofty Adenauer of old who has been compelled to reassure Washington on the eve of his November 20 visit that talk of "the instability, the unreliability of the German people . . . is completely false." The Chancellor comes as the somewhat precariously installed leader of the weakest West German regime since his first one in 1949. With his new Cabinet barely in office, the struggle for the succession has already started between Defense Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder and the still hopeful Ludwig Erhard.

There was so much dissatisfaction with Adenauer in the ranks of his own Christian Democratic Party and of his Free Democratic allies that 44 deputies of the two parties either voted against his re-election last week or abstained from voting at all. Although the 67 Free Democratic members of the Bundestag are now members of the government coalition, only two or three applauded when Adenauer's re-election was announced to the Bundestag. On the eve of the election the Christian Democratic President of the Bundestag, Eugen Gerstenmaier, declared that the terms of the coalition were unconstitutional and involved limitations of the powers both of himself and of Federal President Heinrich Luebke.

The terms of the coalition involve the prior consultation – before any legislation – of the leaders of the Free Democratic and South German Christian Socialist Parties (the latter is more loosely affiliated to the Christian Democrats now than in the past). The implication of this clause of the "Coalition Agreement" is that legislation can be blocked by Free Democrat Erich Mende or Christian Socialist Strauss before it is even discussed in the Federal Cabinet – that a sort of "Politburo" has been formed, a government-within-a-government. At the very least it means that additional explaining and convincing must be done by Adenauer. At the most it could give the Free Democrats enormous scope for holding up or simply rejecting legislation favored by the senior partner in the coalition.

The 48-clause coalition pact reflects Free Democratic distrust of Adenauer based essentially on the party's previous experience of partnership with his Christian Democrats six years ago. The Free Democrats were split as a result of dissension within the coalition, and their four Cabinet Ministers gravitated to the ranks of the Christian Democrats along with a dozen other Free Democratic members of the Bundestag. This time, the Free Democrats would have far preferred that Adenauer retire in favor of Erhard. They agreed to drop their demand for this change only on Adenauer's assurance that he would retire well before the end of the Bundestag's four-year term – probably in 1963.

The most uncomfortable paradox inherent in the new German political situation is that a weak Federal Government appears bent on pursuing an "ultra-strong" foreign policy. The "Coalition Agreement" includes statements that the recognition of the East German State and the Oder-Neisse Line would be contrary to the Federal Constitution. Adenauer's new government may be prepared to "take cognizance" of Western "de facto" recognition of the East German Republic and the Oder-Neisse Line, but it would do so only under extreme protest. For although Mende managed to unite the Free Democrats during the election campaign, the party has since dissolved into rival factions both of which (the Bavarian left-wing led by Thomas Dehler and the Saar rightists by Heinrich Schneider) take an equally nationalistic line and are crying for reunification and restoration of the lost Eastern provinces.

If in fact Adenauer should feel compelled to take the terms of the agreement seriously, he and the President may find that they have little to talk about. For the drift of thinking in high places in Washington appears to be that West Germany with its growing economic prosperity and its political freedom should adopt a more confident – and less unbending – posture toward East Germany. To date, the Bonn Government is said to have agreed in the Berlin "steering group" of Western ambassadors in Washington to accept the existence of the Wall, that is, not to insist on efforts to renegotiate the four-power responsibility of East Berlin; but it has not gone very far beyond that on the critical issues which will determine Western maneuverability at the bargaining table.

Although the US has no intention of proposing the much-discussed "atom-free" zone in central Europe, or of seeking to deny the West Germans the means of delivery for nuclear weapons, the possibility of proposing some form of international control (as President Kennedy intimated in his UN speech) over the nuclear weapons to be held by nations not now possessing them is reportedly under consideration. The Germans are said to have rebelled against even such a modest proposal in the steering body on the claim that this might deny the German army, at some hypothetical future date, the freedom to get the most modern means of delivery. And as for increased contacts with the East Germans, Bonn has agreed only to "consider" the idea of talking to Pankow in special bilateral committees (possibly dealing with the extension of technical interchange, the free movement of persons, and the drafting of an electoral law) only if such talks are explicitly and publicly requested by the four powers.

The fact that Bonn has not closed the door to the possibility of some increased contacts with the East Germans holds out hope that the Kennedy-Adenauer talks will not be fruitless. For as this journal has argued since the start of the Berlin impasse, the establishment of contact between Bonn and Pankow in advance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Moscow-Washington negotiations would imply a measure of *de facto* recognition of the Ulbricht regime on the part of both Bonn and Washington, and this might, in turn, serve to fix the blame for prolonging a dangerous crisis upon the Russians. In the long run, the West has much to gain from Bonn's penetration of East Germany; for one suspects that the number of diehard Ulbricht loyalists is small, and that liberalization of the East German regime is not altogether impossible.

Upheaval in Ecuador

The involuntary resignation of President Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador last week is evidently more serious than the usual palace revolution so characteristic of that country. The shrewd old caudillo was forced out as a consequence of a popular anger at his austerity program (undertaken at the instance of the International Monetary Fund), which involved new taxes and sharply higher prices for consumer goods. His successor, Vice President Carlos Julio Arosemena, favors instead reliance on Soviet loans and barter agreements; like Brazil's new President Joao Goulart, Arosemena visited the USSR this summer. Ironically enough, in view of Arosemena's anti-US bias, his claim to the Presidency was assured only by a raid on the national capital by three jet planes supplied to the Ecuadorian Air Force under the US military aid program.

Despite its population of only four million and its rank as the second smallest country in South America, Ecuador has some strategic importance. It straddles the equator, within easy striking distance of the Panama Canal, and it borders on the most backward and uneasy sections of Colombia and Peru. Internal social tensions are accompanied by a long-standing grievance against Peru, which was awarded 77,000 square miles of disputed jungle by the Protocol of Rio in 1942. Ecuadorians of all classes and parties have never reconciled themselves to this loss of nearly half their national territory, and Cuban propagandists have made adroit use of the fact that the United States is one of the four guarantors of the existing boundary.

Ecuador is also significant as an example of what may happen in more important Latin American countries. The little nation has enjoyed political stability and "fiscal responsibility" for more than a decade; the *sucre* remained stable and the cost of living increased less than half of one percent a year. The investment climate for indigenous and foreign capital has been excellent, and the late John Foster Dulles had occasion to praise the nation's free-enterprise policies. But Ecuador's economic progress has not benefited the wretched slum-dwellers in Quito and Guayaquil or the *huasipungueros* (sharecroppers) out in the countryside. Half the population is illiterate, and nine out of ten adults have had less than four years' schooling. A thousand families own 40 percent of the land, and the bulk of the national income of $160 per capita goes to a small group of landowners and businessmen; most of the Indians, who make up a third of the population, live outside the money economy altogether.

Conditions similar to these touched off the Mexican revolution of 1910, the Bolivian revolution of 1952, the Cuban revolution that began when Fidel Castro arrived in Havana in January, 1959, and the election of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana last August. Popular demand for change is rising at a rate that threatens to outmode the Alliance for Progress before it even gets fairly underway. The planners of the Alliance might consider the note given to Adlai Stevenson by the leaders of the Ecuadorian Student Federation during his recent South American tour: "We don't want foreign gold to come here to perpetuate the archaic structures of inequality. The rupture of the old agrarian molds must be demanded. Inadequate and unjust taxation systems must be reformed. We are not Communists. All we want to do is help develop our country for the benefit of all the people."

Meaning of the Law

The common law can be maddeningly slow in adjusting the ancient doctrines of private rights and liabilities which are left in its keeping to modern conditions. But sometimes a common law court will complement its accustomed deliberate speed with a touch of majestic instancy. The Supreme Court of Michigan did so recently, when it overruled a long-standing tradition by holding the city of Detroit liable for its negligence, if any, to the widow of a workman who fell to his death down an unguarded elevator shaft in a building owned and operated by the city. The result may seem natural enough, but an established doctrine that the state and its subdivisions are immune from suit in such circumstances stood forbiddingly in the way.

Of course such decisions, infrequent though they are, have a hard time competing for newspaper space with the continuous stream of more momentous events. But it is decisions such as these, more than many a great judgment by the US Supreme Court affecting large political issues, that touch the lives of great numbers of people. Such courts as the Supreme Court of Michigan do more than Earl Warren can to justify the government's ways to man. It is they who largely define the meaning of the law in the common experience of our people. The opinion written by Justice George Edwards in the case of *Williams* v *Detroit* marks a wise and imaginative discharge of this function.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Case of the Missing Clues

The Kennedy Administration has been admired, and fairly so, for the high quality of many appointments, and for the diligence and thought it has put into its search for talent. It has therefore seemed there must be a reason why John A. McCone was named Interim Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Not just any reason – such as his long service to the Republican Party or his financial success or his experience on the Atomic Energy Commission – but a reason relevant to the responsibilities he must bear.

An unofficial explanation is now offered by the *New York Herald-Tribune:* When Mr. McCone was picked, it reported on November 9, "a lot of eyebrows went up. What did he know about intelligence? Here is why he was chosen: Intelligence work nowadays requires an immense amount of atomic, rocket and other technical know-how. Mr. McCone has it, as a result of his years on the Atomic Energy Commission."

To have come up with even so slender a clue is an accomplishment. But it is not one on which we can lean too heavily. Such "know-how" would be a persuasive consideration were Mr. McCone returning to the Atomic Energy Commission, or joining the new intelligence unit in the Pentagon.

Heretofore, however, the Director of CIA was expected to have knowledge of a broader, more subtle kind. His task has been to record what is on men's minds, leaving it largely to the military to tabulate what is in their arsenals. And do more than record. For CIA has had far-flung, generously-financed clandestine operations designed to influence what men think. The Director, it is true, must be capable of appreciating what information can be gathered by aerial satellites (we no longer speak of U-2's), and of understanding reports on nuclear detonations in Siberia or elsewhere.

But basically he is, or should be, a sorter and sifter. "How goes the world," is the question Presidents have put to CIA, and to which a competent Director is expected to give up-to-date, reasonably accurate answers. Perhaps the President will no longer put that question to this Agency, but turn to others for his intelligence, letting Mr. McCone tell him about rockets and such.

"THE POWER OF INITIATIVE IS RESERVED TO THE WHITE HOUSE"

A Muffled Mediator

London

This is the first European crisis since the emergence of the Kaiser's Reich in which a British Government is not even pretending to play other than a secondary and apparently ineffectual part. The government has had no option. It has been made aware of the devaluation of its diplomatic influence since the last Berlin crisis sent Mr. Macmillan (arms control plan, white fur hat and all) on his independent mission to Moscow. The frigid reception that Macmillan later met in Bonn and Paris made it look then like a last fling; Gaitskell said privately that he would not even have attempted it. On the Russian side, too, the mediator has been discharged. From the moment Gromyko told Selwyn Lloyd in May, 1960, not to bother trying to save the Paris summit, Britain has been written out of Mr. Khrushchev's script. This time the power of diplomatic initiative in the West is plainly reserved to the White House; this time Britain itself is a suppliant at Western Europe's door.

All these are powerful disincentives to the bold stroke, and in fact British opinion has not looked to Macmillan for one. The diminished responsibility of the second-class power has seldom been better demonstrated than in the emergency recall of the Commons in September to debate the crisis. Half a century ago the recall would have shaken the world; a decade ago it would still have mattered; this time it quickly became a bore and a burden even to those taking part. Ministers were muttering grumpily afterwards that they merely lost a week in which to get their ideas straight on the departmental legislation for the new session. But the very boredom that MPs have felt in the latest exchanges on the crisis is curiously important. For it has turned out that both Tories and Labour have been saying exactly the same thing: that there are essential rights in West Berlin that cannot be given up, that Khrushchev's bomb tests should neither rattle the West into appeasement nor deter it from the possibility of negotiation, and that Britain's present conventional contribution to NATO in the central European theater is less than adequate.

This is the measure of the Gaitskellite victory inside the Labour Party this year. It has meant that Gaitskell has been able to say to the country what Macmillan,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Washington and Paris to handle, cannot say. In this category come disappointment at Dean Rusk's apparent dismissal of arms control in central Europe, and growing impatience with de Gaulle's obstructive opposition to the establishment of a Western negotiating position. (De Gaulle should hear more about this, despite Macmillan's desire to press ahead with the Common Market talks, when he comes over on November 24-25.) It has meant that Labour, instead of voting consistently against defense preparations as it did in the 'thirties, is hammering the government to make good the deficiencies. It has meant that the small, pro-Russian Left has never been more openly identified by the rest of the party, or more estranged from it. Khrushchev's bomb tests have been a major catalyst of this sense of national unity (they also happen to have pushed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament far along the path to multilateralism in the past two months), but it is anyone's guess what the open fissures in British public opinion over Berlin would have been by now had the Labour leadership not been harried by the unilateralists themselves into Gaitskell's defiance of the party conference at Scarborough 18 months ago.

But if this has strengthened Macmillan's hand, it still does not mean that he sees a distinctively British hand to play. Whenever the White House moves toward opening negotiations with the Russians it is assured of British encouragement. But the Foreign Office, like everyone else who has talked to Russians lately, has been appalled by the unreality of Khrushchev's public analysis of the German problem. This has now wrung from Admiralty House the first military appreciation of the crisis that does not start from the premise (actually voiced by Macmillan on Gleneagles golf course) that the whole business had been "got up by the press." The government will not go back to compulsory military service, even in a selective guise, but it has bowed to General Norstad and Deputy Secretary Gilpatric to the extent of retaining enough of the last national servicemen to keep the Rhine Army up to its nominal strength of three divisions. This is hardly a gesture that will satisfy what is thought to be the White House preference for a conventional strategy in Europe. British influence in Washington or Moscow is unlikely to be improved by the fact that the total strength of the army will still not be above 180,000 men (and boys) for all tasks by January, 1963. Ministers have therefore fallen back, when they want to make big-power noises, on saying that the V-bomber force, assuming it could get off the ground in time, can flatten Russian cities by itself; and, for what it is worth in US eyes, Macmillan will resume nuclear testing whenever Kennedy explodes one in the atmosphere.

In power terms these are signs of British weakness; in policy terms they add up to the conviction that Khrushchev is still the best Russian premier the West has got. The suspicion had begun to burgeon in London even before the Moscow congress that Mr. K might be in some trouble. The fact that he has put back again the terminal date on which he will positively sign a German peace treaty has been received with bland Foreign Office denials that it means anything. Nevertheless the feeling has prevailed that Khrushchev should be given the chance to cool down the Berlin situation in whatever way he finds preferable, including 50-megaton explosions. Thus, every restraint has been shown in Berlin (playing "chicken" at Checkpoint Charlie seemed nonsensical to British officials who have customarily shown their passes to the East German guards), and nothing has been done in London to provoke a military build-up on both sides of the Elbe.

What Ministers do believe is that the key to the immediate crisis lies in arranging a wider international guarantee for West Berlin and its access routes than anything cooked up solely between the four occupying powers. This might provide a ladder for Khrushchev to climb down, and it could satisfactorily regularize West Berlin's status. But it is far from certain precisely what Ministers expect the United Nations to do, beyond moving some of its agencies into the city from Geneva. The longer-term fear, which is frankly expressed, is that the kind of settlement the West can now hope to win from Khrushchev, even though it preserves the freedom of the West Berliners, must involve the abandonment (through the acceptance of the East German regime and probably of the Oder-Neisse line) of the policy of German reunification that West Berlin's position has hitherto symbolized. It will therefore be open to increasing attack, and not only in West Germany, as another Munich: the further prolongation of East-West tension could thus induce an unreasoned bellicosity in Western opinion which might either prevent a full settlement in central Europe or make the next confrontation unnecessarily dangerous.

This calculation underlies the British wish to see some form of arms control in central Europe within a Berlin agreement; or, failing that, to preserve the existing unofficial balance of forces in Germany (20 Russian divisions against 18 NATO) which gives neither side sufficient advantage to mount a surprise attack. The government's critics at home do not dissent from this approach; but they believe the British argument will only carry weight in Western councils if Britain develops a greater reserve capacity for conventional war should things go badly wrong in Europe. At the moment, British strategy, still dispersing small packets of troops around the globe, looks out of step with Washington's ideas; it seems curiously out of step, too, with the responsibilities of a prospective European power.

ALASTAIR BURNET

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Officer, Arrest That Man!"

Junius Scales, the North Carolina Communist, is now doing six years in a federal prison for violating the new Alien and Sedition Law, and one of his friends sends a letter asking support of a plea for executive clemency. Since I don't believe anybody should ever have gone to jail under that law, I am of course in favor of letting Scales out, but I doubt that he has a Chinaman's chance.

If the man had murdered somebody, there would always be the chance of convincing the public that the deceased ought to have been murdered, which would set up a strong demand for Scales' release. But he, like Thoreau, is in jail not for what he did, but for what he didn't do. He was convicted of not thinking the right thoughts back in 1954, and I, for one, am persuaded that he was guilty. Furthermore, I can imagine no way of proving that he is thinking the right thoughts now, so if it is lawful to send a man to jail for wrong thinking, Scales' friends have no case at all.

What happened was that Junius Scales, a sixth-generation native, white Protestant, of Anglo-Saxon ancestry – therefore a man with no organized friends at all – shortly after he came of voting age swallowed the Communist rumble-bumble and held it down until 1956, when Khrushchev's famous speech formally admitted that Stalin had been what sensible people had all along believed he was. This was too much for Scales and he renounced the doctrine, thereby incurring the venomous hatred of the Communist Party.

But at first he had been its fair-haired darling. For generations his family had been wealthy and socially prominent – a great-uncle had been governor of the state and there was some connection with a Revolutionary patriot who became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Such a convert was a prize indeed for the Communists, and they promptly made him state chairman. So in 1954 he was indicted under the Smith Act and in 1958 was convicted, although he had then been out of the party for two years.

The government offered no evidence that he had advocated overthrowing the government by force and violence, and certainly he must have made no effort to do so. But it was charged that he knew the Communist Party was dedicated to violence against the government, therefore he must have approved that policy – he thought well of it, even though he did nothing about it. That was thinking the wrong thoughts, so he got six years – a heavier penalty than was imposed on any other violator of the Smith Act, even those who stayed in the party after Khrushchev's revelations.

It wasn't even hinted at in the trial, but current belief is that Scales might have saved himself, or certainly drawn a lighter sentence, if he had been willing to save the government gumshoe boys a lot of work by ratting on all other members of the party. That he refused to do. He answered truthfully, as far as is known, all questions about his own acts, but named no names, thereby attaining, in the estimation of this superficial observer, the rating of a damfool and a gentleman. In Valhalla, or wherever good governors go, Junius Scales' great-uncle may be snorting in disgust. But he isn't blushing.

Yet what can President Kennedy do about it? In the old days President Jefferson pardoned everybody convicted under the first Alien and Sedition Law on the ground that thinking the wrong thoughts, even thinking that elected persons are swine and saying so out loud, is not a crime, and a so-called law making it a crime is no more real law than if Congress had ordered everybody to bow down and worship the image of Baal.

But John Marshall put the kibosh on that. He established the Supreme Court as the sole arbiter of what is and what is not real law and President Kennedy's opinion on the subject is just about as authoritative as yours and mine.

I wish that Scales were out of jail, not on his account, for I never laid eyes on the man, but because it seems to me that every day he stays there is a new proclamation that it is criminal to think that "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness), it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it." Those words are in the document that created the United States of America.

But modern times are different, better illustrated by a cartoon that, in the unhappy days of prohibition, was published by *Life* – not the picture magazine, but the earlier one that was intentionally humorous. It portrayed a character coming down the street, head up, and grinning from ear to ear, while behind him a harridan screeched at a cop, "Officer, arrest that man! He seems to be thinking of beer."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On War in Gestation–

And the Possibilities of its Abortion

by Louis J. Halle

We are living today in a prewar period – like those that led up to 1914 and 1939. There is the same challenge to the established international order, apparently mounting year by year toward a point of critical culmination. There is the increasing threat of force. There is the accelerating arms race. Finally, there is the psychological transformation among peoples, an initial fear and pacifism tending to give way to increasing anger and determination as the stark alternatives of policy come to be vividly appreciated at last.

Even though this is a prewar period, it does not follow that it will culminate in the outbreak of World War III. The process of gestation may yet be aborted by statesmanship on both sides. The hope that it may resides in one unprecedented fact: that neither side, while it retains its reason, will deliberately choose war as a means of gaining its ends. The price in destruction that the new weapons could be expected to exact, on both sides, has done what paper pacts could never do in ruling out major war as a deliberate instrument of policy. This, be it noted, was not the situation before 1914 or before 1939.

The prime characteristic of a prewar period, however, is that the political leaders on both sides find themselves progressively losing control of the course of events. The alternatives before them are constantly fewer, the choices constantly narrower. The fact that the world is already involved in this dangerous progression is what endows the present with the characteristics of a prewar period.

A common belief is that the arms race, in itself, is the root cause of the progression. This view has never been convincing to me, and in the present circumstances is less so than ever. If the new destructiveness of national armaments deters the deliberate resort to war today, it is hard to see how that deterrence will become less with their increase and development on both sides. Desirable as it might be for other reasons – including the danger of accidents, the dispersion of control, and the economic strain – the universal disarmament that we talk about would surely increase the likelihood of war by making the resort to it less dangerous.

The disappearance of alternatives, the narrowing of choice, the progressive loss of control by governments – these characteristics of the prewar period seem to me to arise, not out of the arms race, but out of developments in the field of what one might call public and political psychology. As the tensions of the prewar period rise, or simply as they endure at a high enough level, the moderate elements on both sides find themselves under increasing pressure from the extremists, who may at last succeed in making themselves politically predominant. This rise of the extremists is observable, today, in our own world and in the Communist world alike.

Let's begin with the evidence in the Communist world. The recently concluded 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow has revealed that Premier Khrushchev's leadership is more strongly challenged, and his authority less firmly established, than we had thought. Not only have the Chinese Communist leaders publicly shown their contempt of his authority, even Mr. Molotov in his exile has felt that the balance of forces within the Communist world is such that he now dares personally challenge that authority.

What is the issue between Mr. Khrushchev and his domestic opponents – the so-called "Stalinists"?

All the evidence suggests that the main issue is whether the progress and promise of the Soviet Union, in its domestic development, shall be safeguarded by a policy of relative moderation abroad, or shall be exposed to the risks inherent in a militant foreign policy based on an acceptance of war as an eventuality. Mr. Khrushchev's whole course, since his advent to power, suggests that he has taken a more realistic than ideological view of the world in which he has to play his part – limited as that view may still be. This led him, in 1955 and 1956, to favor a policy of retrenchment and consolidation like that on which the Emperor Hadrian embarked when he came to the throne of the Caesars. It led him to favor a gradual liberalization of the Russian society, a relaxation of international tensions, and the confinement of international competition within the limits of what he calls "peaceful coexistence."

Perhaps I exaggerate or simplify. Mr. Khrushchev is

Louis J. Halle *is a professor at the Institute of Higher International Studies in Geneva and was formerly with the State Department Policy Planning Staff.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

undoubtedly a man of limited understanding, and there have been occasions when he seemed momentarily drunk with power, when Soviet successes in weaponry or in outer space appear to have aroused in him excessive expectations that the West would be cowed into retreats of one sort or another. On the whole, however, his policy seems to have been one of relative moderation, and of achieving Soviet objectives by a process of growth, however forced, rather than by the dangerous shocks of war.

If Mr. Khrushchev's words and actions since last spring are superficially inconsistent with this view, that inconsistency may represent simply a classic gambit of domestic politics – that of disarming one's opponents by stealing as much of their program as may be necessary for the purpose. So it is that the Republican Party in our country and the Conservative Party in England, when they are in power, adopt the programs of the welfare state.

The strength of the opposition to Mr. Khrushchev, as it has now been revealed by the 22nd Party Congress, provides a plausible explanation of his foreign policy in the months leading up to it. By militancy abroad, which he may have expected to produce greater successes at Berlin and elsewhere than it did, he hoped to have disarmed his opponents in the Communist world by the time the Congress opened. That he evidently failed in this seem to me ominous. It now appears that, despite his efforts to disarm them, the extremists in the Communist world may be growing in strength.

A like political evolution appears to be taking place in the United States, in response to the mounting prewar tensions. We see this in the tendency of McCarthyism, after its temporary flare-up in the 1950's, to settle down as a permanent and broadly based element of American politics. We see it in the support that Senator Goldwater finds for his radicalism of the Right. We see it in the powerful attacks on men like Ambassador Stevenson and Senator Fulbright. Finally, we see it in what can only be characterized as the open rebellion of Major General Edwin A. Walker against the constituted authority of the United States – a rebellion that has its points of resemblance with that of General MacArthur a decade ago, and with that of the French generals against President de Gaulle. What makes this rebellion especially sinister is that it represents the publicly unexpressed but privately outspoken views of an important part of our American officer corps in all three services.

Up to now, the forces of reason and moderation have remained in the political saddle – in Russia, in France, and in the United States. But in order to keep themselves from being unseated these forces may find themselves increasingly constrained to pursue policies that represent dangerous compromises with their own best judgments. The Stalinist opposition may not have overcome Mr. Khrushchev, but it may nevertheless have caused him to create the Berlin crisis, to rattle his nuclear weapons in the face of the world, and to pollute the world's atmosphere by demonstrative explosions of monstrous nuclear devices.

In the United States and in France, the equivalent forces of opposition have at least seriously weakened the governments and reduced their possibilities of maneuver in foreign affairs. The French Government has not been able to achieve a necessary ordering of its affairs in North Africa, and our American Government has not been able to adjust its policy in the Far East to the realities developing there since 1949.

Dehumanizing the Enemy

If there is any hope of keeping this vicious spiral toward extremism and war from getting altogether out of control, then we are going to have to understand the political psychology involved. The fundamental feature of that psychology is the tendency of the great abstractions to take the place of this world's intricate realities in men's minds. The enemy, with all his complex humanity, is dehumanized. The human reality is replaced by the image of a demon, monstrous in the ruthlessness of his purpose, in his viciousness, in his appetite for destruction and his thirst for power. Most of us can remember how this became the predominant image of the Japanese people and of the German people presented to us during the last war. It is the image of the enemy presented in General Walker's statement announcing his resignation from the Army and proclaiming his rebellion.

This image of the demonic enemy carries with it a clear implication: that anyone who would try to deal with him as a being who shares the common characteristics of the human race, anyone who would seek to reach agreements with him, anyone who does not aim at his extermination, must either be in league with him and a traitor to his country, or else must be the dupe of traitors. It follows that the forces of moderation in the country, including those which govern it, must be in a state of treason. The conclusion of such extremist rea-

COMING: *From Soviet bloc to Communist camp*
by Zbigniew Brzezinski

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

soning is that all-out war is already implicit in the situation and must be acknowledged. This war must be waged against the enemy within the gates no less than against his forces on the outside. And once the claim that we are already in a state of war is accepted, then the question arises why we are not undertaking to shoot with everything we've got (why we are "pulling our punches").

We may be sure that essentially the same situation prevails inside the Communist world. The Stalinist image of the brutal and ruthless capitalists corresponds to the view that our radical right wing propagates of the Communists. The forces in the Communist world who favor "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist monsters are traitors to the cause – including those who govern in Moscow. The situation must be recognized as one of all-out war waged for the extinction of the enemy species. "Peaceful coexistence" is treason.

It is significant that our own extremists can justify their position today only by an assurance that, if we go all out against the enemy, he will retreat rather than fight. (It may be that the corresponding argument is made by Stalinists in Moscow today.) Here we have a tacit recognition that an actual all-out shooting war for the preservation of our way of life can no longer be invested even with the appearance of sense. This, at least, is a favorable development in our day. But the assurance that a shooting war would not eventuate is worthless, as was General MacArthur's assurance that an advance toward the Yalu would not bring the Chinese Communist forces into Korea against him – as were the assurances that must have been offered in Moscow, by those who favored the North Korean attack across the 38th Parallel, that the United States would not come in to repel it. If the all-or-nothing men come into power on one side they are likely to come into power on the other, and under such circumstances it is improbable that a crisis like that over Berlin will be resolved without a war in which the hopes of both sides are lost.

The world is not without historic experience of these situations, but the lessons of its experience have not become a part of general public education. The classic example is that of the ancient Athenian democracy, which went down to disaster in the unnecessary Peloponnesian War (dragging the whole Greek world down with it at last) because, by the dynamics of the same political progression that I have been describing here, the leadership of moderate men like Pericles succumbed to that of ignorant all-outers like Cleon. Thucydides, in what is surely the political classic of all time, wrote his interpretive "History of the Peloponnesian War" in the hope that it would be "considered useful by all who wish to know the plain truth of the events which happened and will according to human nature happen again in the same way." The danger, which he identified with the increasing ascendancy of the ignorant and the demagogues, remains in spite of his wisdom, for the ignorant have never read him and the demagogues are not interested. So the catastrophic failure of democracy 25 centuries ago could as easily repeat itself today – unless the nuclear threat makes a difference.

Request for a Common Interest

Seeing ourselves involved once more in these prewar political dynamics, but now under unprecedented circumstances that tend to deter the resort to war, we must ask what can be done to abort the classic process.

Mr. Khrushchev can no more wish to see the extremists come into power in Washington than in Moscow; and Mr. Kennedy can no more wish to see them come into power in Moscow than in Washington. Implicity, this gives them something in common. The great issue between the moderates and the extremists cuts across the lines of the Cold War. Circumstances have given the moderates on both sides a common interest, whether they like it or not, whether they acknowledge it or not – that of jointly retaining, against their own extremist opposition, the power and the freedom of action necessary to abort the process by which our world moves toward a Third World War that neither side can accept as a tolerable prospect.

We have to recognize, then, that the true interests of the United States and Russia, as represented by the responsible leadership in each country, include substantial if unacknowledged common interests. I would say that they included common interests that properly transcended all their separate interests. If we can recognize this, then we shall see how necessary it is for the responsible leadership on either side to give it effect by bearing in mind the domestic political problems of the other, and the impact of its own actions on the other's ability to cope with them. This means a degree of understanding, however tacit, between the two leaderships.

I am aware of how delicate and tricky are the circumstances that have to be dealt with here. It means political tight-rope walking, for the actions that leadership on one side feel compelled to take in order to build a backfire against its own extremist opposition have the effect of strengthening the extremist opposition on the other side. Moreover, the limitations of the mutual confidence that may be possible between the two sides requires a wariness that limits the possibilities of supporting the common interest. We live, however, in extraordinary times, the stakes are higher than ever before in the world's history, and mankind has every reason to learn, today, that for the first time it has an overriding common aim which transends, even though it does not eliminate, the divisions based on traditional differences of ideology or national interest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liggett & Myers at the Bar

by Arthur Edward Rowse

About a month ago, late on the afternoon of October 12, the stock of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co. fell precipitously by 4¼ points. Other tobacco companies also slipped. The explanation was no mystery to financial editors, who noted that the US Court of Appeals in Philadelphia had that day tentatively supported the claim of Otto E. Pritchard, a lifelong Chesterfield smoker and recent lung-cancer victim, for $1,250,000 damages from Liggett & Myers. Yet while the implications of this revolutionary decision were clear enough to financial editors and investors, they seem to have entirely escaped managing editors – and hence smokers, who mostly confine their newspaper reading to the front page. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* was the only major newspaper to give this story a front page play.

Pritchard, a 56-year-old cabinet maker in Pittsburgh, had had one of his lungs surgically removed because of cancer in December, 1953. After nearly a month in the hospital and several months of hemorrhages, shortness of breath and other difficulties, his weight had dropped from 190 to 140 pounds. Having smoked Chesterfields for 32 years, he got a lawyer and filed suit against Liggett & Myers, charging the firm not only with breach of warranty (for having advertised Chesterfields as "safe" when in fact they gave him lung cancer) but also with negligence (for not warning customers that Chesterfields might cause cancer).

Pritchard cited specific advertisements from Pittsburgh papers in an effort to show that the company was guilty of breach of warranty. An ad in the *Pittsburgh Press* of July 16, 1934, said, for example, "A good cigarette can cause no ills and cure no ailments . . . but it gives you a lot of pleasure, peace of mind and comfort." Another ad 10 days later in the same paper said: "There is no purer cigarette than Chesterfield."

Arthur Godfrey, radio and television personality, was quoted as having said on Sept. 24, 1952: "You hear stuff all the time about 'cigarettes are harmful to you' this and that and the other thing. . . . Here's an ad, you've seen it. If you smoke, it will make you feel better, really. 'Nose, throat and accessory organs not adversely affected by smoking Chesterfields.' This is the first such report ever published about any cigarette. A responsible consulting organization has reported the results of a continuing study by a competent medical specialist and his staff on the effects of smoking Chesterfield cigarettes."

The company argued that these ads did not constitute an express or implied warranty. Furthermore, it said, Pritchard had not filed notice of his intention to sue within a reasonable time of the alleged breach of warranty. Judge John L. Miller, who was presiding in US District Court in Pittsburgh, granted a company motion to dismiss the warranty count as neither timely nor reasonable in this case.

This left only the negligence claim. Testimony of five lung cancer authorities was offered to show that cigarettes contain cancer-producing substances and that this was well known many years prior to the filing of the suit. Dr. Charles S. Cameron, former medical and scientific director of the American Cancer Society, said for example that literature on the subject went back half a century and that he became interested in it in the mid-1930's. Each of the five witnesses said that in his opinion Pritchard's cancer had been caused by excessive cigarette smoking.

As further evidence of Liggett & Myers' negligence, Pritchard submitted a list of 795 references to articles supposedly dealing with the harmful effect of tobacco on human health and offered abstracts or reprints of 251. Judge Miller, however, refused to allow this material as evidence because there was no attempt to show that the titles constituted an accurate summary of the articles themselves. After the testimony was completed, Judge Miller granted a company motion for a directed verdict of acquittal because of "no substantial evidence to support" the complaint.

Pritchard's appeal was heard a year later, May 5, 1961. On October 12, the Appeals Court issued a unanimous and historic decision which reversed the District Court and ordered a jury trial. It was the first time an Appeals Court had given its blessing to such a case. On the warranty count, the court said, "the evidence compellingly points to an express warranty for the defendant, by means of various advertising media, not only repeatedly assuring plaintiff that smoking Chesterfields was absolutely harmless, but in addition the jury could very well have concluded there were express assurances of no harmful effect on the lungs."

As to the timeliness of Pritchard's suit, the Appeals Court said it was reasonable for him to have waited until October 31, 1954, to file suit, since he was not well enough to return to work until the next year.

On the negligence issue, the Appeals Court cited a

ARTHUR EDWARD ROWSE *is assistant city editor of the* Washington Post *and the author of a study of the press,* Slanted News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pennsylvania law requiring that anyone who supplies a product and knows, or should know, that its use is dangerous to human life must warn the user and advise proper precautions. The court said that on the basis of the five experts' testimony it was a proper question for the jury to decide whether the company should have known (or perhaps did know) that in its own tests by the Arthur D. Little Co., some of the persons examined suffered harmful effects from smoking Chesterfield cigarettes.

In a concurring opinion, Judge Herbert F. Goodrich went further. He said that "if a manufacturer assures the public that his product is harmless and it is proved that it is not harmless, he can be held, no doubt, for breach of warranty." He added, "When a person makes to another a statement of fact which he does not know to be true, intending that the other shall act in reliance on the truth of that statement, he is liable for negligent misrepresentation."

If this decision is ultimately sustained, its effects will be felt in many quarters for a long time to come. There are thousands of Otto E. Pritchards who could reasonably claim they have been duped by cigarette advertising, and if they all get what the Appeals Court has implied to be their due, the big tobacco manufacturers are likely to face bankruptcy – especially when the impact of the decision sinks in on the millions of smokers who are now merely worried about cancer. Furthermore, if misled customers can claim damages from boastful manufacturers, cancer victims will not be the only litigants. A revolution on Madison Avenue might even be required.

The Last Hundred Days

by Irving Kristol

These last hundred days have been so dizzying, so astonishing, and to some of us so dismaying a reversal of what we all took to be the inevitable course of history, that one can still hardly believe, much less explain it all. A reporter, trying to sum it all up in a few columns, cannot hope to capture the drama, the acute anxiety, the universal confusion. All he can attempt is the patchiest of outlines.

Each man has by now inevitably chosen a favorite "turning point," at which he locates the origins of President Kennedy's new course. Mr. William F. Buckley has, typically, already assigned this honor to the Case of the Lost Postcard, which erupted at Harvard in the last week of June. I would not myself agree. That unfortunate Nigerian student was, after all, only stating his candid impression of the disconcerting affluence all about him, and there is little reason to think he meant to cast any aspersion on America's moral and spiritual values, as the 1,500 Harvard men, in conclave assembled, indignantly charged. I find it difficult to believe that the motive behind this affair was anything but frivolous, or that – as has been suggested – the President lurked in the background as alumni adviser.

On the whole, I do not think it makes much sense to try to pinpoint any single symptom which in and of itself prefigured the larger transformation. There are too many candidates. Why not choose that moment at a cocktail party when Dean Rusk was heard to say loudly to Lord Home that Britain would be well advised to provide NATO with more stupid soldiers and less clever advice? Or why not the afternoon in July when Justice William O. Douglas declared before the television cameras that, in truth, he thought the main trouble with Afghanistan was that it was inhabited by Afghans. Or the press interview at which Mennen Williams observed that, while all countries might not find it feasible to govern themselves by the principles of liberal democracy, no country deserved to be governed by a Nkrumah? Or. . . .

Never mind. It is surely the part of good sense to begin with the happenings of August 13 themselves.

The announcement of the Communist authorities that they were building a wall across Berlin was not exactly unexpected. Indeed, not a few voices in the West had been hinting for some time that such a step would not meet more than formal objection. By halting the flow of East German refugees, they reasoned, a wall would relieve pressure on the Ulbricht regime, give it a greater sense of security, assist it to grow to maturity, and thereby contribute to "stabilizing" an exceedingly dangerous situation in the heart of Europe. So there is little doubt that Premier Khrushchev was genuinely taken aback when, that very evening, President Kennedy dispatched to all member governments of the United Nations a note that was as brief as it was unprecedented. This note, we may recall, read as follows: "It has come to my attention that unauthorized personnel have begun construction of a wall through the city

IRVING KRISTOL *is senior editor of Basic Books.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Berlin. Such a wall, I am informed by competent experts, would dangerously impede the flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. I have therefore instructed our armed forces to supervise its demolition."

The stupefaction that this note produced in the chancelleries of the world was predictable enough. Requests for "clarification" poured in, but were returned with the curt comment the President was reading Norman Mailer's latest book and did not wish to be disturbed. In the 48 hours that followed, world opinion made itself heard. Prime Minister Macmillan, while stating categorically that Her Majesty's Government yielded to no one in its dedication to the unrestricted movement of traffic, reminded the House of Commons that he was an old soldier with an utter detestation of war. John Osborne and Kenneth Tynan wrote a joint letter to the *Daily Express*, resigning from the human race.

In Paris, General de Gaulle was heard to remark acidly that President Kennedy's note represented a step backward, in that no reference was made to the free flow of men on horseback. *L'Express* published, in 675 pages, the first part of a longer essay by Jean Paul Sartre which demonstrated that the Existence of the Berlin wall was absolutely Essential.

Mr. Nehru, in an urgent communication to the Ford Foundation, deplored the use of violence against walls as an act of cultural barbarism.

In Rome, Alberto Moravia, Sophia Loren and Carlo Levi issued an appeal, in the name of the dignity of mankind, to the conscience of humanity.

Premier Khrushchev, at a reception for a delegation of peace-loving Indonesians, quoted the old Russian proverb about he who disturbs the peace being himself of a disturbed mind. He went on to remind his guests that, in the event of a thermonuclear war, capitalism would be destroyed, whereas Communism would endure even if every single Communist were killed.

And on the morning of August 16, at 1:05 a.m., a string of non-explosive incendiary bombs liquefied the thousand yards of wall that had been constructed. Three slow-footed East German policemen were singed, as was one slow-witted American television comedian.

I need not remind you how, in the days that followed, the world trembled in the shadow of ruination. The Secretary-General of the United Nations called an emergency meeting of the Security Council, the General Assembly and UNESCO. While the American delegation sat mute, their shoes on their desks, the Assembly worked frantically round the clock; at the end of the week, a vote of censure against South Africa was passed.

Against this grim background, events in Berlin proceeded ominously. A new wall was begun, 500 yards back from the border, with the East German militia patrolling before it. On the night of September 3, an entire company of East German militia deserted to the West. Ditto on the night of the 13th. Immediately thereafter, Russian armored troops replaced the East German militia on patrol duty. They piled rolls of barbed wire along the frontier itself, and their tanks rumbled back and forth in the alley thus formed. When loudspeakers on the West Berlin side began broadcasting Russian language programs, loudspeakers erected on the wall began an incessant blaring forth of patriotic music. The ensuing din could be heard for miles. When the West Berliners began to erect huge motion picture screens facing the Russian patrols, and the East Berlin authorities countered with smudgepots that sent up an effective smokescreen, the whole business seemed to be getting to be rather a farce. Until, that is, the night of September 22 when 200 miles southwest of Berlin, a full-mile stretch of the East German frontier, heavily mined and wired and blockhoused, was blown sky-high by the greatest underground explosion in history.

Four hours after this explosion, another note from President Kennedy was delivered to all members of the United Nations. Like its predecessor it was terse, though this time there were two paragraphs:

"It is, or ought to be, obvious to all thinking men that the conditions of modern military and industrial technology are such as to make the sovereign national state a positive threat to human welfare and survival. It is true that in present circumstances, all hope for a world community is chimerical. But because we cannot do everything, it does not follow that we need do nothing. I am therefore inviting the member governments of NATO to enter into conversations with the US aiming at the establishment of a common market, common citizenship, and various common political institutions.

"In the interests of further combating the evils of parochialism and provincialism, I have instructed certain agencies of this government to dismantle the so-called Iron Curtain. These instructions will remain in effect until such time as the Soviet Government shows a disposition to enter into negotiations in a spirit of good faith."

The rest is current events. The negotiations now under way toward a Western Community have, of course, run into annoying obstacles, though it is to be hoped that the proposed stock-option plan for redundant politicians will have a soothing effect. As for the summit conference on the future of the Iron Curtain, it inches along at a pace that is sometimes disheartening. The Soviet delegates have, however, let it be known they appreciate the pressure President Kennedy is under from the war party of American capitalism, led by the Rockefeller-Meaney coalition. True, they were much troubled when the President casually remarked that Cuba was a bone in his throat, and that he was also rather irritated by Mali. But the consensus among their Whitehousologists is that, if he is handled with sufficient tact, the President might be persuaded not to raise these issues at this critical juncture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Saddest Stories are Biographies

by Winfield Townley Scott

Half a century ago when Albert Bigelow Paine published his vast biography of Mark Twain, the critic Stuart P. Sherman recorded that after several days' reading it, he went around for several more days under the impression that *he* was Mark Twain. Almost as vast, Mark Schorer's *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life* could bludgeon a reader into a similar daze. If not, it is due to two drastic differences: where Paine wrote piously, Schorer writes caustically; and, second, Paine had as subject a far more gifted writer and a far more attractive personality with whom the reader could identify.

Sinclair Lewis: An American Life
by Mark Schorer
(McGraw-Hill; $10)

Sinclair Lewis' life is appalling. But reading it has the fascination of a puzzle, of the outrageous, of an extraordinary success and terrifying ruin. Whatever reservations one may have about Schorer's job – and I have a couple – one must say first of all that this *Sinclair Lewis* is a magnificent example of research and writing. It comes out of nearly a decade of examining published and unpublished materials, of travel, of interviews; nonetheless its nearly 900 big pages never flag with fatigue – the verve of lively prose is sustained; and – what is perhaps even more admirable – the ordering of this mass of data into narrative has been accomplished with masterly brilliance.

The god-awful question which may nevertheless be asked is: Was it worth it? And this is permissible because Mark Schorer himself implicitly raises it. How justify hundreds of detailed pages recording the life of a man whose biographer defines him as "one of the worst writers in modern American literature"? And whose biographer at times treats him with contempt?

The defense would seem to be in that Lewis, after all, accomplished something special, something unique, in his time; and perhaps further in that ambiguous subtitle, "An American Life." There is, as I have said, the fascination of the story. Are we to take it as representative? And if so, of what? Of American writers who, instead of achieving full maturity, peter drearily out after their best and relatively early work? Of the effects of 20th Century American materialism on creative genius – the fast buck more seductive than the masterpiece? the ease and rewards of conforming more attractive, after all, than that different drum? (One of Lewis' most curious delusions was that Thoreau had a profound influence on his life.) There is indeed evidence, perhaps insufficiently emphasized by Schorer, that Lewis – according to his own limited lights – felt the serious obligations of writing as art, and plenty of evidence, perhaps overemphasized, that Lewis loved the enormous amounts of money he made. And so, typically, he came a disastrous cropper over a "persistent conflict of values" (Schorer's phrase) and at the very end of his life this rich, famous Nobel Prize winner could compulsively cry out, head in hands, "Oh God, no man has ever been so miserable!"

Lewis was a type. We have all known in childhood days, at least, one or another boy of whom Lewis as a boy is remindful. Yet Lewis, boy and man, enlarged the Moon-calf, the "different," characteristics to the point of monstrosity. Readers of this biography are less likely to feel that here is a "representative" life but rather here, by the grace of God, is a man not quite similar to any other who ever walked the earth. The point about him which never ceased to be true is this: from childhood on, Lewis was an outcast, rejected by one group after another; in self-defense he had to despise them (and there came the satire in his best writing) and yet, such was his nature, he desperately longed to belong (and there came the sentimentally obscured focus of his worst writing). Out of both, of course, there came too the muddled tragedy of his life itself.

It is startling to realize how young, how rawly new, was that Sauk Centre, Minnesota, into which Harry Sinclair Lewis was born on February 7, 1885. For it had been only in 1857 that the first seven settlers had stopped in that prairie country and put down stakes. Growth had been rapid, there were houses and schools and a public library and lawyers and a couple of doctors – one of whom was Harry's father and toward the other of whom Harry felt so much more *simpatico* that once as a man he tastelessly asked the old doctor if there hadn't been some sinning around Sauk Centre in 1884. But growth and all, it was an outpost of American 19th Century, in part primitive and most certainly provincial; a very long way for a boy to go, even given 45 years, to the Royal Court of Sweden. In short, an extreme example of the *petit bourgeois* town without precedent for understanding so peculiarly endowed a youngster as Lewis.

He was a poor little misfit, and he was obnoxious. He was a know-it-all. He would never shut up. He would do anything, even to eating grass, to call attention to himself. The filthiest tricks were played on him by the other kids. As he grew into adolescence he seems even to increase in oddity: he had almost no real friendships, he was no good at games, he swam badly, he couldn't dance, he loved girls uselessly and from afar. And he was unbeautiful; an exceptionally bad case of acne raddled his face throughout his youth, permanently scarred it, and was but preliminary to skin cancer that further scarred and inflamed a countenance many thought repulsive. (In photographs it is impressive because of its terrible loneliness.) As Schorer says of Lewis, 17, departing for college, "he had found so little human kindness."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save that he got far more human kindness than he ever gave, the essence of Lewis' life does not vary thereafter. At Yale, where he was known as "God-Forbid," he got some human kindness from the faculty, but nearly none from other undergraduates. And the thing is, years later he was snickered out of a Left Bank cafe in Paris: for what was he to the avant-garde gathered there but an inconsequential best-seller? And still years following that he was for Ernest Hemingway "that pock-marked jerk." Schorer, wondering why Lewis dedicated a novel to Edith Wharton who was not a friend of his, might consider not only that Mrs. Wharton was a novelist of distinction, she was also a great lady, top drawer: the dedication made, so to speak, an attachment, however pathetically tenuous. No, Lewis moved through all those strata of *bourgeoisie*, intellectuals, literati, the rich, and he never fitted anywhere.

He "began his retaliation," says Schorer, in his diary, before he was 16. As his retaliation proliferated like poison ivy up the tree of his life it became utterly dismaying – and, of course, an aggravation of all his discontent. Late in life he was to list friends he had lost, and Schorer can add a great many more to the list. He was a gauche and noisy bore who drank much too much, created scenes, and – still – would never shut up. He wore out his first, youthful marriage and his second, to Dorothy Thompson, she tried to preserve even when the patience required surpassed that of the dead. Ugliest of all, he was not merely parsimonious with his two sons, he was coldly disregardful of them. A friend of mine who worked with Lewis on that best known unwritten novel of our times – Lewis' labor novel – told me, "Lewis is the most selfish man in the world." So in this biography he seems to be.

Then when he took a beautiful young mistress we get the true beginning of a story adumbrated earlier in his life, the story of incessant, pathological flight. It is consistent with his sense of not belonging, but it is almost mad. Lewis turns to acting in the theater, turns to public debating, turns to teaching and lecturing, drops most enterprises soon after he picks them up, and he constantly changes residences – at large expense buys and furnishes one house after another and then lingers only briefly in any place. His writing worsens, as he seems aware, but he has half a million dollars in his pocket from *Cass Timberlane* before the book is even published. He drives himself on and on in what seems a wild and often drunken exasperation with living. More and more alone he travels in Italy and finally, a sodden wreck, dies on the outskirts of Rome in 1951.

"*Elmer Gantry*," says Schorer, "is a work of almost pure revulsion. It seems to shudder and to shake with loathing of that which it describes." Too strong a statement to make about Schorer's own book, *Sinclair Lewis;* yet this book – exemplary in its frankness, its warts-and-all – approaches at times too near revulsion. Let me cite just two instances. When the English portraitist Nevinson recalled Lewis' story that his creative faculties "would dry up," I can't believe in Schorer's right to suggest this was Lewis' playing the serious artist. When the correspondent Frazier Hunt remembered showing Lewis some horrible, drunken, poverty-ridden slums in Glasgow and Lewis cursed and wept, I think it inexcusably gratuitous of Schorer to comment: "Was it either the system or the poverty that so disturbed him, or was it the prophetic mirror of [understood: his own] horrid human degradation?" A man can be a fool without being a phony.

Sinclair Lewis was – in the broadest sense of the word – a fool. For what he had to the point of genius was the gift of mimicry. In his life and in his work.

One astounded onlooker once told me of an evening in New York when Lewis, annoyed by an obnoxious Englishman's condescension to all American literature, suddenly inquired if the visitor knew of Such-and-Such a novelist – Lewis making up the name. No? Whereupon Lewis rapidly but extensively outlined novel after novel by this allegedly fine American until Yes – Yes – the Englishman *did* begin to recall one or two of them. Lewis did that sort of thing all his life. He impersonated, in costume and out. Dorothy Thompson recalled an occasion when Lewis even, impromptu, did parodies of various poets' styles – until the company sat open-mouthed at

Conscience in Politics
ADLAI E. STEVENSON IN THE 1950'S
Stuart Gerry Brown

A fresh perspective on our Chief Delegate to the United Nations. "Incisive writing and effective analysis characterize this study in the leadership exerted by a statesman out of power. By comparing the public statements of Stevenson and of Republican leaders, mostly Eisenhower, on key issues —McCarthyism, civil rights, foreign policy, the cessation of nuclear tests — the author demonstrates Stevenson's conscience, eloquence and good sense, and shows how, in many instances, President Eisenhower followed Stevenson's leadership through the 1952-60 period." *Publisher's Weekly*. A *Men and Movements* book. Illustrated. $4.50

NORMAN THOMAS, RESPECTABLE REBEL
Murray B. Seidler

"The public life of Norman Thomas, Socialist leader: what he has done as a political party head, a deeply religious man, a sparkplug for ideas, an anti-Communist, and an educator. A balanced, lucid, interesting biography which also serves as a history of the Socialist Party from the 19th Century to the present." *Publisher's Weekly*. "This is a most competent job of research and skillful, objective writing." *Saturday Review*. A *Men and Movements* book. Illustrated. $5.50

At Your Bookseller or
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Syracuse 10, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his brilliance. And of course he would at times carry his antics to uninterruptible monologues that tired people into stupified, irritated boredom.

If we go back to the best of the books, *Babbitt*, it is this gift which supremely we find there: the gift of flawless imitation of speech, given a mocking edge. Again and again in *Babbitt* as family talk, or lunchroom talk, or Rotary speeches, or whatever, go on, we think: "How good – how wickedly good – this is!" And we may recall that an entire book, *The Man Who Knew Coolidge*, was made from such as this; that even as late as *Kingsblood Royal* at least a few pages of whites' comment on Negroes flash with it. But we do not, finishing *Babbitt* (or, less, *Main Street* and *Arrowsmith*), quite feel that outburst of "How good!" The whole, as intent and execution, is not as in focus, not as uncompromised, and is somehow dated by those marvelous mimicries. As with his predecessors such as Howells and Tarkington, and his descendants such as Marquand (and J. D. Salinger?), Lewis flickers with heat lightning but remains incapable of the core of storm.

Sometimes it seems – as perhaps this sentimentality ignores accounts of plumbers, tycoons, bus drivers, Sunday School Superintendents – sometimes it seems our saddest stories are biographies of 20th Century American writers, Thomas Wolfe, Hart Crane, Vachel Lindsay, Scott Fitzgerald, Edna Millay, Eugene O'Neill, probably Hemingway when we know it. Those are some of the names. And Sinclair Lewis. It would require not a mere book reviewer but a combination of psychologist, sociologist, literarary historian and critic, as well as an expert in alcoholism, to try to explain why.

Guides to Tax Legislation

by Robert Lekachman

This lucid and stylish critique of our federal tax system is written by an attorney who has worked for the Treasury, lectured widely on taxes, and practiced tax law as a member of the noted Washington firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter. Thus as a government official he has sought to maximize tax collections, as a lawyer in private practice he has fulfilled his fiduciary obligation to clients by minimizing their tax payments, and as a student of the law he has presumably endeavored to explain both of these roles to other lawyers and law students.

Before entering any reservation, I shall start by saying flatly that Mr. Eisenstein's attempts to explain taxes is a first-rate performance. He has looked closely at the major justifications for the imposition of certain taxes upon certain individuals at certain rates and found each of them wanting. Their proponents are inconsistent and the joint result of their labors is a tangle of inconsistencies and a monument to inequity. The three major tax principles, which Mr. Eisenstein would have been better advised to term rationalizations rather than ideologies, include ability to pay, encouragement to incentives (in Mr. Eisenstein's language, the ideology of barriers and deterrents), and the most venerable of all, equity. Part of the explanation of the wonderful confusion of our tax system is the simultaneous presence of elements of all of these principles. The very high rates of progression in the personal income tax schedules testify to our national reverence for the principle of ability to pay. It is self-evident that the rich can better afford to pay taxes than the poor and equally obvious that a given sum of money paid in taxes means substantially less to Nelson Rockefeller than it does to me; so far so good, although we have not answered the question how much more Mr. Rockefeller can really afford to pay than I can. But then some of us, usually the well-to-do and their representatives, become concerned that incentives to work and bear risks may be damaged, accumulation retarded, and investment discouraged by tax rates which bear too heavily upon those who are best able to pay. This apprehension tends to be relieved by generous extension of capital gains treatment.

The Ideologies of Taxation
by Louis Eisenstein
(Ronald; $5)

Finally there is equity. "Equity," says Mr. Eisenstein, "is commonly summarized in an engaging generality: Those who are similarly situated should be similarly taxed." But who are similarly situated? There's the question. Are authors and inventors similarly situated? Congress has said, at various times, both yes and no. Before 1950, amateur authors and amateur inventors were both accorded the benefits of capital gains taxations and professionals of both varieties glumly paid at normal personal income tax rates. But in 1954 Congress decided that *all* inventors should enjoy the lower rates and *no* authors should be entitled to them. Had Congress taken a dislike to writers? Is a husband differently situated from a mere head of a family? And shall the head of a family be allowed to include his cousins for tax purposes?

Such questions can be multiplied almost without number. The upshot of our tax adventures is a collection of imposts which discriminates in favor of those who make their livings from property and against the rest of us who subsist on our earnings from labor. And it is a system which is much less progressive than it superficially appears. Mr. Eisenstein points out that "the average effective rate rises from 23 percent on incomes between $25,000 and $50,000 to 30 percent on income between $150,000 and $200,000. It then *declines* (my emphasis) until it reaches 24 percent on incomes over $1 million." In short, we have some distance to go before we reach socialism.

Now all of this is the stuff to feed the troops, at least those troops who are enlisted under the banners of *The New Republic*. We need not take seriously the author's professions of impartial detachment in the sight of folly. The burden of his tale is clearly a philippic against the unjust favors enjoyed by

Notes on Contributors

Winfield Townley Scott *has published numerous books of poetry and criticism. The newest,* Exiles and Fabrications, *appeared last month.* Robert Lekachman *is on the economics faculty of Barnard College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the rich at the expense of the remainder of the community. But what are we going to do about it? Mr. Eisenstein's answer is the major disappointment of the book. He can suggest no stronger remedy than the election of stronger-minded Congressmen better equipped to resist the pressures for special favors which their constituents will insistently inflict upon them. I should conjecture that Mr. Eisenstein simply grew tired and decided to end the book, for solely on the basis of what he has written, I find it possible at the least to offer our putative strong-minded Congressmen some guides to tax legislation. As an encouragement to the composition of a better list by Mr. Eisenstein, I shall offer my five points:

1. The principal function of high progressive tax rates is to lull the populace into the belief that the rich are suffering more than the poor. Protected by the complacency of the poor, the rich make certain that their own suffering is mitigated.

2. Our current efforts to make the tax system serve several purposes make it impossible to achieve any of them. Ability to pay is a principle which favors the poor, just as the doctrine of incentives benefits the rich. The two doctrines collide in every tax measure. Those Congressmen who sympathize with the bulk of their constituents will follow the first principle. If they wish to encourage incentives, they will choose devices other than tax benefits.

3. Complexity is the ally of special interests. By their own admission, Congressmen do not understand the tax measures which they pass. Neither do the voters. A progressive Congressman will choose the less technical of alternative tax proposals. If he is an idealist, he will vote for no tax bill which he fails to comprehend.

4. All arguments based on national defense should be discounted by 91 percent – the highest of the progressive rates on personal income.

5. In general, the best way to aid worthy or needy groups is by direct subsidy rather than by tax benefit. The amounts involved enjoy clearer public visibility, the tax system is spared additional inconsistency, and the blight of special tax privilege is checked.

I should dearly love to see Mr. Eisenstein's own guide for the perplexed Congressman.

buy him his life

Tran Dien, Vietnamese, age 5. Father ill. Cannot work. Mother tea-picker. Losing sight. Unable to choose good leaves from bad. Lost job. Five children in family. "Home" is thatch hut. Earthen floors. Dien has almost no clothes. No trousers. Shown in photo with borrowed pants for sake of dignity. No decent food. Nothing. Poverty extreme. Parents despairing for children. Help to Dien means help to entire family. Need acute.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by Plan. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, food packages, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by Plan staff and is insured against loss in every country where Plan operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents' Plan. Let some child love you.**

Plan is non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved independent relief organization, registered under NO. VFAO19 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **We eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** Plan helps children in France, Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

© 1961 FPP, Inc.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N.Y. • FOUNDED 1937

MRS. JOHN F. KENNEDY, Honorary Chairman 25th Anniversary Campaign

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Bing Crosby
K. C. Gifford
Helen Hayes
Dr. John Haynes Holmes
Charles R. Hook
C. D. Jackson
Gov. & Mrs. Walter Kohler
Garry Moore
Edward R. Murrow
Mary Pickford
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sarnoff

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC. **NR-11-61**
352 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex....., age....., nationality.....

I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year). Payment will be monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, yearly ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment $.....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child, but I would like to help a child by contributing $.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Date..... Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

Young Pianists, Old Masters

An important event two years ago was the Epic record with performances of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.503 and Beethoven's No. 4 by Leon Fleisher that established him as one of the great pianists and musicians of today. Epic now gives us his performances of the other Beethoven concertos with the Cleveland Orchestra under Szell: No. 1 on LC-3788 (mono) and BC-1136 (stereo); the rather uninteresting No. 2, with No. 4 again, on LC-3789 and BC-1137; No. 3 on LC-3790 and BC-1138; No. 5 on LC-3791 and BC-1139. It may not be possible for someone as young as Fleisher to achieve the largeness of expressive communication of the famous performances of these works by Schnabel, with whom Fleisher studied; but he does achieve the naturalness, rightness and clarity of emerging shape of phrase and larger structure that Schnabel's performances had; and only one thing strikes me as questionable: the rather ponderous treatment of the capricious principal theme of the finale of No. 1 that Beethoven marks *leggieramente*. The Cleveland woodwinds are not ear-ravishing; but the orchestra's playing is otherwise good. My copy of the monophonic version of No. 2 has a crackling surface; both versions of No. 3 require reduction of bass; and the rough sound of the stereophonic version of No. 3 and both versions of No. 5 is improved by a 10-kc cut-off.

Another important event is RCA Victor LM- and LSC-2562, with Van Cliburn's performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 5 with the Chicago Symphony under Reiner. When Cliburn played concertos of Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov the reviewers admonished him on the necessity of learning to play Beethoven and Mozart; when he played concertos of Mozart and Schumann they found their admonitions justified by what they heard as Cliburn's inadequacies in those works; and now one reviewer has heard similar inadequacy in the recorded performance of Beethoven's No. 5. But I felt sure from the start that the extraordinary sense for note-to-note continuity of tone and tension in the developing musical phrase that I heard operating in the Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov concertos would also operate in other music; I found this to be true in the fine recorded performance of the Schumann Concerto; and I now find it to be true again in the equally fine performance of Beethoven's No. 5. As the playing of a young musician it too hasn't the largeness of expressive communication of Schnabel's performance, but it does have the naturalness, rightness and clarity of shape; it impresses the ear even more than Fleisher's merely as playing of the piano; and it is heard with finer orchestral playing that is more beautifully reproduced.

What promised to be an important event – Glenn Gould's performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 with the New York Philharmonic under Bernstein on Columbia ML-5662 and MS-6262 – turns out a disappointment. Gould had given us characteristically electrifying performances of the three earlier concertos, including a No. 1 that I would recommend in preference to Fleisher's. But in No. 4 now, as against the naturalness and rightness achieved by Fleisher and Cliburn, Gould offers constant and unusual manipulation of phrase which gets to be excessive and wearying and is often unconvincing, and eccentricities and perversities like arpeggiating what are written as solid chords, emphasizing an Alberti bass over the melody it accompanies, or fading out where the music is building up to a climax – so that with passages which are superb there are others which I find impossible to hear as valid statement of the music. Of this work, then, Fleisher's is the performance to acquire; and I would get it on Epic LC-3574 or BC-1025, with the performance of Mozart's K.503.

Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 3 is played by John Browning with the Philharmonia under Leinsdorf on Capitol P- and SP-8545. Browning's technique is fully equal to the demands of the work, notably its spectacular conclusion, and his playing is musically sensitive; but both pianist and conductor occasionally dwell excessively on detail, to the detriment of continuity

This advertisement is neither an offer to sell nor a solicitation of offers to buy these securities.
The offering is made only by the Prospectus.

Nov. 4, 1960

NEW ISSUE

125,000 shares

PORTLAND REPORTER PUBLISHING CO., INC.

(A liberal daily newspaper in Portland, Oregon)

Common Stock (par value $10.00)

PRICE **$10.00** *Per Share*

Copies of the Prospectus may be obtained from the undersigned.

Portland Reporter Publishing Co., Inc.
Dept. S-1
Reporter Building, 17th & N. W. Overton
Portland 9, Oregon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

YOU KNOW THE WAY IT IS WITH PARENTS - THEY WANT THEIR KIDS TO GROW UP EXACTLY LIKE THEM. NO MATTER WHAT THE PARENTS CLAIM **THAT'S** WHAT THEY **REALLY** WANT.

AND **YOU** KNOW THE WAY IT IS WITH **KIDS** - THEY ALWAYS HAVE TO BE **DIFFERENT.**

WELL, IN **MY** FAMILY IT WAS ALMOST THE SAME. WHEN WE HAD A KID I WANTED HIM TO GROW UP TO BELIEVE WHAT **I** BELIEVED - BUT WITH **ONE** DIFFERENCE - I KNEW HE **WOULDN'T.**

I KNEW IF I WENT RIGHT HE'D GO LEFT AND IF I WENT LEFT HE'D GO RIGHT. **NO** REASON. THAT'S JUST THE WAY KIDS **ARE.**

SO FROM HIS VERY EARLIEST CHILDHOOD I PREACHED TO HIM **EXACTLY** THE **OPPOSITE** OF EVERYTHING I BELIEVED - JUST WAITING FOR THE TIME HE'D **REBEL.**

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

AND **FINALLY** HE DID! **MAN.** WE HAD ARGUMENTS! HIM ATTACKING EVERYTHING HE THOUGHT **I** BELIEVED AND ME TRYING TO FIX HIM MORE FIRMLY IN HIS CONVICTIONS BY DELIBERATELY DEFENDING WHAT I **DIDN'T.**

WE WENT AT IT FOR **YEARS** - AND THEN - WHEN I FELT CONFIDENT THAT HE DIDN'T NEED ME AS AN IRRITANT ANYMORE - I LET HIM **WIN.** I CONCEDED HIS EVERY POINT. I TOLD HIM THAT HE HAD CONVINCED ME THAT **HE** HAD BEEN RIGHT AND THE OLD MAN WRONG **ALL** OF THESE YEARS.

HE DOESN'T COME AROUND ANYMORE. HE THINKS I'M A FATHEAD.

©'61 JULES FEIFFER 11-19

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of flow (Browning lacks Cliburn's sense for the next note). The sound is strident without use of a 10-kc cut-off.

Haydn's very fine and too infrequently heard Symphony No. 98 is played effectively by Klemperer with the Philharmonia on Angel 35872 and S-35872; but the performance of the better-known No. 101 (*Clock*) lacks the animation and sharpness of contour of Toscanini's famous performance.

As for vocal performances, Eileen Farrell, on Columbia ML-5654 and MS-6254, disappoints one with the explosiveness of her singing and phrasing in Verdi arias. But London 5603 and OS-25234 have excellent performances by the tenor Kenneth McKellar of arias from Handel's *Messiah, Semele, Acis and Galatea, Xerxes, Ptolemy, Jephtha* and *Judas Maccabaeus.*

One of Caruso's great contemporaries, Margaret Matzenauer, who continued to exhibit her extraordinary vocal and musical powers in opera and oratorio until the early thirties, is to be heard on Collectors Guild 611 in acoustically and electrically recorded performances of arias – among them the florid "In grembo a me" from *L'Africaine,* the declamatory "Ah! mon fils!" from *Le Prophéte,* "O don fatale!" from *Don Carlo* and "Fort denn eile" from *Die Walkuere* – which testify to the remarkable range of her voice and style.

For the ultimate in reproduced sound I now recommend the KLH-Nine Janszen full-range electrostatic speaker system, used with an Audio-Empire 108 cartridge in a 98 arm, a Marantz mono or stereo preamplifier, and one or two Marantz or McIntosh high-powered amplifiers. For fine sound short of the ultimate use the Janszen high-frequency electrostatic speaker in combination with a Janszen dynamic woofer, not with the AR woofer and Lektrostat tweeter recommended by Consumers Reports.

B. H. HAGGIN

EUROPE

An unregimented low-cost trip stressing individual liberty & very wide coverage on & off the beaten path from Scandinavia to Africa. Iron Curtain optional. Unless the standard tour is a 'must' for you, write for details.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N — Pasadena, California

L'EXPRESS
The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP
Grade A
East of Miss.
1 Gallon — $6.95
½ Gallon — 3.75
West of Miss.
1 Gallon — $7.95
½ Gallon — 4.25
Postage Paid
N. PLINY SMITH
Cabot, Vt.

"MAKE YOUR WILL!"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete.
National Forms, Box 48313NR,
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

CLASSIFIED RATES
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c
NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

MOVIES

From England and Russia

No Love for Johnnie (Embassy)
A Summer to Remember
(Kingsley-International)

The press has lately been full of accounts of Mr. Otto Preminger's filming of *Advise and Consent* in Washington with a cast that seems to include a dozen stars and the entire US government. Now from London comes a film about the life and loves of a Member of Parliament, much of it photographed in Westminster, which might be called *Advise and Consort.* It is in fact called *No Love for Johnnie,* and it is the story of a professional whose profession is politics. From the start, the film gives you an almost tactile response; you imagine that if you were to prod it with your finger, it would feel like flesh, warm and responsive.

The script by Nicholas Phipps and Mordecai Richler is based on the first and last novel by Wilfred Fienburgh, a Labour MP who was killed in a motor accident at 38. Its dialogue is consistently intelligent, spare, sharp. The characters are interesting and – with one major reservation – sound; and each of them, whether developed or briefly splashed across the screen as a stroke of complementary color, contributes to a picture of a *milieu.* Ralph Thomas has directed without fuss or fumbling; his work lacks notable individual style but it is clean and helpful. The music, by Malcolm Arnold, is particularly apt, even though it occasionally "telegraphs." (*Crescendo* as the man crosses to the door; he opens it, and there – *forte* – is the girl.)

Johnnie Byrne, who is about forty, has been a Labour Member for a Midlands constituency since shortly after the war. He is an ambitious but modestly endowed man who has shed his Midlands accent in order to facilitate his advancement. We see him campaign for re-election, win, and then face disappointment when he is not selected for a post in the government. His discontent makes him available to a splinter-group within his party; he agrees to ask a question in the House that will embarrass the Prime Minister, his own leader, even though the Prime Minister gets wind of it and asks him to postpone the question for the country's good, promising a full explanation later.

Interlaced with this is Johnnie's private life, in which his modest apartment and marital discord contrast with the grandeur and ceremony of his working day. His wife, who has Communist interests, leaves him, and he is pursued by a neighboring woman who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has long adored him, but he is only fond of her. He meets a bright pretty young model who thinks him sad and wonderful and who falls in love with him. He has been well primed by circumstance to reciprocate.

On the afternoon when Johnnie is scheduled to ask his embarrassing question of the PM, he is instead in bed with the girl, for the first time. The results of the afternoon, both political and personal, are articulated with logic and sympathy.

The defect in the script is that Johnnie is supposed to be a selfish careerist who sacrifices principles and friends to advancement; this is said of him often. But there is no indication of it at the start and none is adduced later. When he gets his chance to make a political *coup*, he passes it by: not for sex but for love. When, later, he pursues the girl to her father's home in the country and she pleads with him to give her up because she finds him irresistible and she knows he will ruin her life, he does give her up – for her sake. At the end when his wife asks to be taken back, he faces a choice between her and the political advancement he has long wanted, and he chooses the latter; but who can feel reproof in the light of her behavior and their discord?

In spite of the inconsistency between what is said of him and what he does, the texture of the film is firm. In an odd way – unintended, I think – the contradiction helps the central character. We feel he is misunderstood.

Part of the contradiction results, paradoxically, from Peter Finch's highly competent performance as Johnnie, a man so quietly winning, so free of self-delusion, that even if he did behave really badly, we would at least think we knew why. From the moment before the titles when Finch walks up a hill in an industrial town to address a group of voters and runs his hand easily, in an unflustered manner, over his hair, we know that he is in control of the character.

The supporting cast is flawless. Stanley Holloway and Mervyn Johns, as old Labourites, are unshakably substantial. Donald Pleasence, who is currently giving a fine portrayal in New York in *The Caretaker*, is subtly poisonous as a viper in the political nest. Geoffrey Keen, the works-manager in *The Angry Silence* who seemed to have spent his life in his cubby-hole, is here an equally undoubtable Prime Minister. Paul Rogers, who struck a small, nervous part to life in *The Mark*, makes his few moments as the PM's secretary ring with stubborn strength.

Rosalie Crutchley, Johnnie's wife, Billie Whitelaw, the adoring neighbor, and Mary Peach, the model, are all genuine and touching.

One can doubt that this is a representative life of a Member of Parliament, but as the story of Johnnie Byrne, a very human mediocrity in his days of crisis, the film is so good that it ceases for long long stretches to seem a film, even a documentary. Instead it satisfies the ancient human appetite for eavesdropping.

A Summer to Remember is one of the best films out of Russia since the Second War. The title put on it here is inexplicable, since it deals with something more than a year in a boy's life, during which time his widowed mother re-marries and has a baby. All is seen through the five-year-old's eyes with an acuity reminiscent of the fine French films about children. Sergei Bondarchuk (of *Fate of a Man*) and his wife Irana Skobtseva play step-father and mother with appealing humanity, and the boy, Borya Barkhatov, is a prodigy. He has an extraordinary face, grave and hopeful, a face which, though it has a child's charm, prefigures the adult to come. The picture has modest goals which it accomplishes amply, and it touches the viewer with some universals of love and simple joy. I saw this film the week that the Russians exploded the 50 megaton bomb.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Fidel Castro's ex-UN delegate now tells the shocking inside story of

CUBA and CASTRO

By TERESA CASUSO

$5.00, now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

AFRIQUE action

The liberal voice of emerging Africa.
Edited in Tunis, in French. Send 25c for your copy.
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
Room 503, 1475 Broadway, New York 36

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

WRITERS: Literary counseling for your books or plays hard to complete or rejected. ETV ASSOCIATES, 11218 Victory Blvd., North Hollywood, California.

FRESH, JUMBO PECANS
Ten pound sack postpaid $10
FABIS FARM
Brownwood, Texas

TECHNOCRACY — the unique solution to a unique problem. For a complimentary copy of one of Technocracy's magazines, write to Continental Headquarters, Technocracy, Inc., Rushland, Pa.

WORLD PEACE — The Journal of International Pacifism. Quarterly. Sample Copy 25c; Two Years $3.00. Box 6537R, Atlanta 15 (Ga) USA

WANTED: Investors to back words with deeds—

ISSUE: Housing without discrimination

for prospectus mail coupon

Dept. NR
Morris Milgram, President
Planned Communities Inc.
84 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

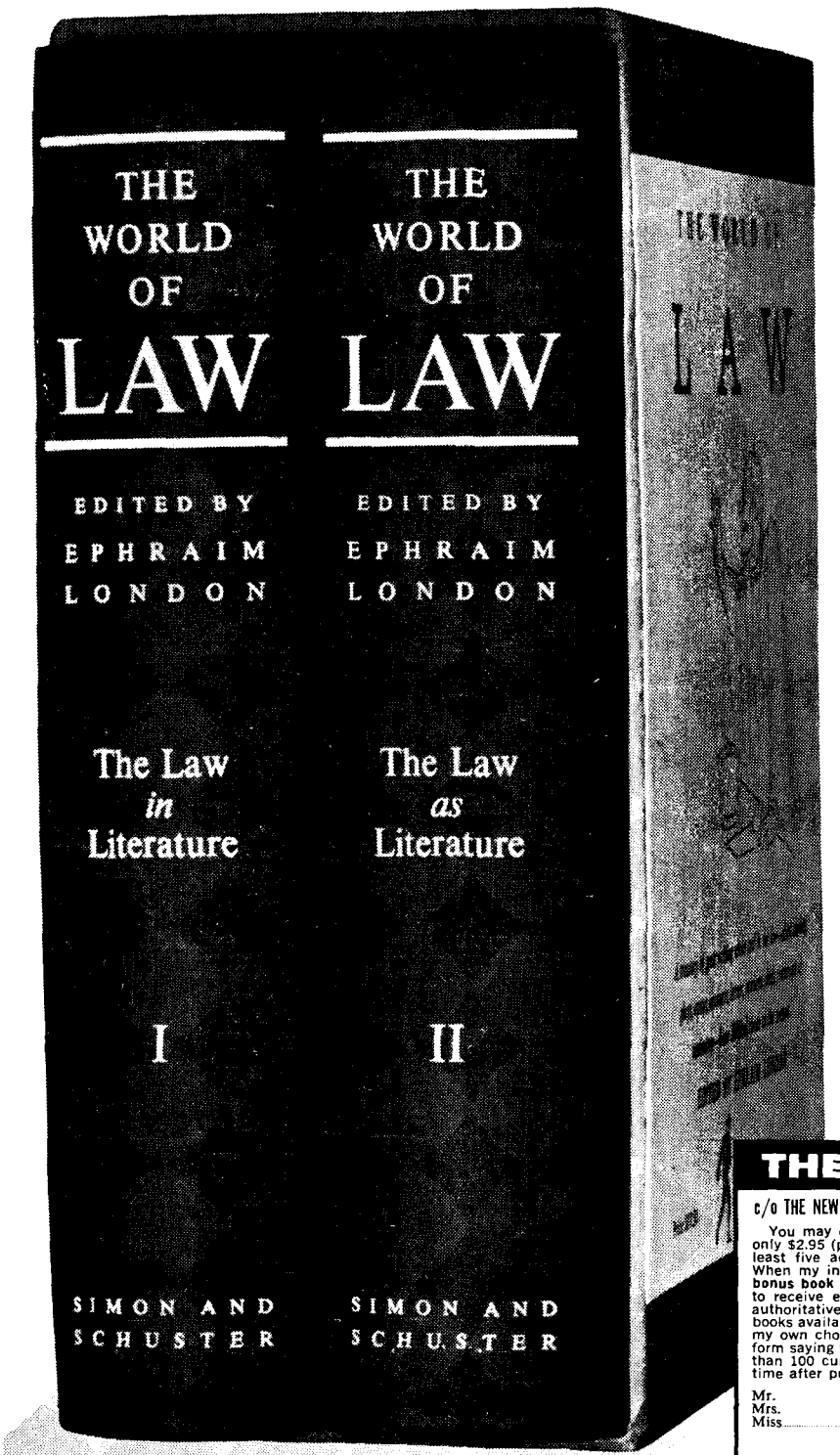
This lavish and exciting home library of the great writings of the law demonstrates that the law is above no one's head—that it is the stuff of life and literature.

THE WORLD OF LAW presents a panorama of the law through history. Here are those who practice the law, and those who preach it; those who make it, those who break it; those who write it and those who write about it. Here are essays, opinions, stories, plays, transcripts of testimony, and records of famous trials—all magnificently displaying the drama and excitement of the law.

Ephraim London, the editor, is responsible for the scope and excellence of THE WORLD OF LAW. One of America's most eminent constitutional lawyers, in recent years he has appeared in a succession of precedent-making cases, including the Dachau trial, the **Miracle** case, and the **Lady Chatterley's Lover** movie case.

What a wealth of entertainment and stimulation awaits the reader of these two superb volumes: Rabelais' rowdy legal humor . . . Robert Jackson's gripping summation, at Nuremberg, of humanity's case against the Nazis . . . the complete text of Terrence Rattigan's international hit play **The Winslow Boy** . . . actual transcripts from the trials of Oscar Wilde, Joan of Arc, and Emile Zola . . . great tales from Cervantes, Balzac, Chekhov, Dickens, and Faulkner . . . memorable opinions eloquently expressed by Brandeis, Learned Hand, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and other titans of the law . . . Albert Camus' extensive and devastating indictment of capital punishment, **Reflections on the Guillotine.** Every mood and aspect of the law is represented in the two comprehensive volumes that comprise THE WORLD OF LAW.

Among Others Represented Clarence Darrow • W. H. Auden • Daniel Webster • Gandhi • Henry Miller • Francis Bacon • Herman Melville • Luigi Pirandello • Henry James Mark Twain • Frank O'Connor • Agatha Christie • Sholom Aleichem • Damon Runyon • Sheridan Le Fanu • Robert Benchley • H. L. Mencken • Guy de Maupassant • Herman Wouk Jonathan Swift • George Bernard Shaw • Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. • Lewis Carroll • O'Henry • Samuel Johnson • W. Somerset Maugham • Michel de Montaigne • *and many more*



2 VOLUMES IN AN ATTRACTIVE SLIPCASE
TYPOGRAPHICAL DESIGN BY MARSHALL LEE
1,472 PAGES • DIMENSIONS 10" x 6¾" x 4¼"

YOURS FOR $2.95

RETAIL $17.50

The World of Law and the outstanding books listed below are all recent selections of the Book Find Club. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books ranging from social science to the fine arts.

Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you choose. Furthermore, you need choose **only** those selections you want from the more than 100 books and records that will be made available to members in the coming year.

BONUS BOOKS. When your initial commitment has been fulfilled, you will be entitled to a free bonus book **of your own choosing** after every third selection that you take.

Why not take advantage of this extraordinary introductory offer? And receive **The World of Law** for only **$2.95.**

Recent Book Find Club Selections

The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50. Member's price $6.95.

The Architecture of America: A Social and Cultural History, John Burchard and Albert Bush-Brown. Retail $15.00. Member's price $7.95.

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

The Lotus and the Robot, Arthur Koestler; *and* **Lanterns and Lances,** James Thurber. A dual selection. Combined retail price $7.90. Member's price (for both books) $4.95.

The Children of Sánchez, Oscar Lewis. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50.

The Crisis of the Old Order, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.50.

The Coming of the New Deal, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.75.

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.

The Labyrinth, Saul Steinberg. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, *Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead,* Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Margaret Mead, C. Wright Mills, Harold Rosenberg, I. A. Richards, Geoffrey Gorer, Irving Howe, Karl Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.75.

The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

The Greek Myths, Robert Graves. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.75.

Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Marx, Engels, Veblen, Weber, Spencer, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel, Nikos Kazantzakis. Retail $10.00. Member's Price $5.95.

America as a Civilization, Max Lerner. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

A History of Western Morals, Crane Brinton. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.50.

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

c/o THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1244 19th St. N. W., Wash 6, D. C.

You may enroll me as a member and send me THE WORLD OF LAW for only $2.95 (plus a slight charge for postage and handling). I agree to buy at least five additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my initial commitment has been fulfilled, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the five additional selections or alternates.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....
Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

861-119

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED